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## ABSTRACT

The American labor movement has always been a constructive champion of better schools. One of the deepest convictions of early unionists was that the responsibilities of a democratic society make it imperative that all citizens be educated. Unions have always supported free public education. From its founding convention, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was a champion of the schools, the students, and the teachers. The AFL supported compulsory school attendance laws as well as laws against child labor. Unions have also given serious attention to other educational problems, including curriculum, school financing, and the position of the teachers. The AFL favored including vocational classes; adult education was another aspect of labor's interest in the curriculum. The unionization of teachers was seen as a dependable way to better working conditions and better salaries for teachers and as a method of winning dignity, freedom, and independence. The AFL and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) have also supported federal aid as one workable way to equalizing educational opportunity. The AFL-CIO disagrees with the Reagan administration's proposed cut in education programs and considers it a reduction in the quality of education at a time when public education needs to be reviewed, revitalized, and reformed. (YLB)

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# LABOR CHAMION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND  
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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES  
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### WHAT DOES LABOR WANT?

We want more schoolhouses and less jails,  
More books and less arsenals,  
More learning and less vice,  
More constant work and less crime,  
More leisure and less greed,  
More justice and less revenge.

SAMUEL GOMPERS  
1893

## EARLY HISTORY

The American public school system did not just happen. From earliest times there have been those who wanted to improve the school system and extend it and there have been those who were equally determined to limit its availability and effectiveness. The American labor movement has always been a constructive champion of better schools. Educational leaders such as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard found their principal support in the unions when they pressed their campaign for universal free public education.

Unions and workingmen's parties in the first half of the Nineteenth Century were determined that the promise of American democracy should be fulfilled in terms of equality of opportunity and the uprooting of class privileges. Universal suffrage, the abolition of imprisonment for debt and reform of the militia system by which the wealthy could buy their way out of military service were all among the early labor demands which have since become accepted parts of American democracy. One of the deepest convictions of all among these early unionists was that the responsibilities of a democratic society make it imperative that all citizens be educated.

The Workingmen's Party, organized in New York City in 1829, included as one of its principal planks a demand for a school system "that shall unite under the same roof the children of the poor man and the rich, the widow's charge and the orphan, where the road to distinction shall be superior industry, virtue and acquirement without reference to descent."

At this time 24,000 children in New York City and more than half of the children in Pennsylvania had never attended school at all. Such free schools as existed were limited to teaching the "three R's" to the children of the very poor. The Free School Society, for example, opened a school in New York City in

1806 "for the education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for, by any Religious Society." Similarly, the Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys advised parents that if they would declare themselves paupers, their children might be given free education.

Workers resented the social stigma associated with free education and demanded free public schools open to the rich and poor alike. The workers also demanded that the course of studies be broadened to include "the science of government" and other "intellectual subjects" which would prepare students for their responsibilities as members of a democratic society.

Education was an important concern of the voluntary association of workingmen founded in Philadelphia in 1829, the same year as that in which the New York Workingmen's Party was founded. The Philadelphia workers submitted a questionnaire to all candidates for the state legislature asking where the candidate stood on the matter of "an equal and general system of education." Out of their efforts there developed a workingman's committee to study the Pennsylvania school system. In 1830 this committee urged the building of free public schools, open to all children, in every part of the state. The committee also supported popular election of school boards.

These and similar activities in various sections of the country resulted in unions from all over the nation coming to New York for a convention in 1834 to consider "the social, civic, and political conditions of the laboring classes." One of the most important recommendations of the convention was for the establishment of "an equal, universal, republican system of education."

## **FREE EDUCATION**

While unions were organizing support for free public schools, other groups were gathering into an opposition force. What remained of the old aristocratic class, the new conservatives and the politicians of small vision assailed the

idea of tax-supported schools as harmful to the individual good and thoroughly undemocratic.

The leaders of the New York Workingmen's Party were denounced by the New York Commercial Advertiser as men who were "lost to society, to earth and to heaven, godless and hopeless." Their new party was described as "emerging from the slime . . . more beastly and terrible than the Egyptian Typhon."

The National Gazette of Philadelphia argued, "universal, equal education is impossible if trade, manufacturing and manual labor are to be successfully prosecuted—unless the standards of education be greatly lowered and narrowed."

In the words of Elwood Cubberly, distinguished historian of American education, "the friends of free schools were at first commonly regarded as fanatics, dangerous to the state." The idea of providing free education for all out of public taxation was denounced as socialistic and destructive of individual initiative.

Another historian of education, R. Freeman Butts, writes in *A Cultural History of Western Education*, "education [it was argued] should properly be reserved for those intellectually able to profit from it and financially able to pay for it. It was assumed that there is a natural and high correlation between intelligence and income."

The National Gazette again provides a ready illustration of Dr. Butts' generalization: "The 'peasant' must labour during those hours of the day which his wealthy neighbor can give to abstract culture of his mind; otherwise, the earth would not yield enough for the subsistence of all: the mechanic cannot abandon the operation of his trade for general studies; most of the conveniences of life and objects of exchange would be wanting; languor, decay, poverty, discontent would soon be visible among all classes."

Arguments such as those advanced by the National Gazette could be heard in most of the state legislatures and, in modified form, some of them are encountered even today. In

1834, for example, the Pennsylvania legislature passed a law permitting, but not requiring, school districts to furnish free education. A torrent of abuse was let loose upon the legislature, and the new law became the most important issue in the next election. Several members of the legislature who had supported the law were defeated when they stood for re-election. When the new Assembly was called together, it was apparent that the voters had been stampeded into electing an assembly which contained a majority opposed to free public schools. The new Assembly received petitions from 32,000 people demanding the repeal of the law which made public schools permissible. Many of the petitioners against public schools were themselves illiterate as evidenced by the fact they signed the petitions by "making their mark."

Thaddeus Stevens rescued the all but doomed free school law with a speech that has become a classic statement of the case for public education. "The liberal and enlightened proceedings of the last legislature," he told his colleagues, "have aroused the demon of ignorance from his slumber, and maddened at the threatened loss of his murky empire, his discordant howlings are heard in every part of our land."

The demon of ignorance was defeated, however, and Pennsylvania became the first state to establish a free public school system. New Jersey followed suit in 1838 by establishing public schools open to all children, although it was not until 1871 that New Jersey finally abolished the rate bills by which parents were taxed in proportion to the number of children they had in school. New Jersey thus became one of the first states to establish a public school system but one of the last to make education truly free. Most of the other states fell in line sometime during the intervening years.

After their initial victories in establishing public schools, workers continued to insist upon complete equality of education opportunity. It is worthy of notice that a convention of Negro unionists in 1869 anticipated by nearly a century the United States Supreme Court

in demanding "a free school system, recognizing no distinction on account of race, color, creed or previous condition."

## **AFL SUPPORT**

The labor movement in the United States has never slackened in its close attention to educational problems. Like the early unions that had preceded it, the American Federation of Labor, from its founding convention in 1881, was a champion of the schools, the students and the teachers.

Relating education to democracy, as unions had done in the past, the delegates to the first convention turned their attention to the need for compulsory school attendance laws. "If the state has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands," they declared, "then it is also the right of the state to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands." This view was to be repeated in resolutions adopted by delegates to the AFL conventions for years to come, as when delegates to the 1887 convention adopted a resolution calling for the enactment of compulsory education laws "so as to enable (the children) to acquire an education fitting them to become intelligent and important factors in the regulation of the laws and the system of government under which they live."

The public school system was by now a reality, in considerable part because of the efforts of early unions and workingmen's parties. But availability of schools did not mean that all children attended, and the AFL was concerned that children be in the schools which had been established. Support for compulsory school attendance laws was one part of this effort, laws against child labor another part. "The damnable system which permits young and innocent children to have their lives worked out of them in factories, mills, workshops, and stores, is one of the very worst of labor's grievances," AFL President Samuel Gompers told delegates to the 1893 convention of the Federation. "We shall never cease our

agitation until we have rescued them, and placed them where they should be, in the schoolroom and the playground."

The first convention of the AFL had gone on record as favoring laws forbidding the employment of children under the age of 14. And as recently as World War II, the Federation and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were again doing battle with this problem. With the war-created manpower shortage as an excuse, there was a nationwide movement to relax child labor laws to permit children to leave the schools and work in defense industry. Labor responded to this pressure by strenuously opposing "any relaxation of standards pertaining to child labor."

## **CURRICULUM**

Organized labor has by no means confined its interest in education to a simple belief that children should be in the schools and not in the factories. Unions have given serious and thoughtful attention to a whole series of educational problems, including curriculum, school financing and the position of the teachers.

As to curriculum, the AFL favored including vocational classes which would teach students various trades, but the Federation insisted that these classes be supplements to rather than substitutes for instruction in such subjects as government, English, science, and history. Mechanics need to know more than the skills of their trade, unionists believed; they also need to know the skills incidental to citizenship in a democratic nation.

In 1909 the AFL convention defined a comprehensive curriculum suitable to specialized schools for students 14-16 years of age to adequately prepare them for the trades and enable them to make an informed judgment on a specific vocation.

"The course of instruction in such a school should be English, mathematics, physics, chemistry, elementary mechanics, and drawing, the shop instruction for particular trades, and for each trade repre-

sented, the drawing, mathematics, mechanical, physical and biological science applicable to the trade, the history of that trade, and a sound system of economics, including and emphasizing the philosophy of collective bargaining."

The AFL formulated a comprehensive program for vocational education at its 1908 convention in Denver. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, the beginning of large scale vocational education, was passed with full sponsorship and active support of the AFL. The George-Barden Act of 1946 and the various bills which led up to it were also supported by the Federation.

Over the years, however, a growing sense of the failure of vocational education to relate to the realities of the existing and future job market led the AFL-CIO at its 1959 convention to call for the formation of a national advisory committee to investigate the situation. This demand was more than justified by the 1962 report of the federal government's Panel of Consultants on Vocational Education. The panel discovered that vocational education, inadequately financed and too rigidly structured, was training young people for non-existing jobs, doing little to develop the skills needed in modern industry. The Vocational Education Act of 1963, vigorously supported by the AFL-CIO, at last provided the funds and flexibility needed to make vocational education a meaningful part of our public school system.

Adult Education was another aspect of labor's interest in the curriculum. AFL President Samuel Gompers very early became interested in the possibilities of utilizing school facilities in the evening hours for adult classes. In 1888, he helped win the passage of a law in New York authorizing evening lectures in the schools on such subjects as science, political theory, economics, art and literature. It was, of course, the working men and women who were the principal beneficiaries of this program. The AFL convention in 1893 adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of evening schools in all parts of the nation.



## TEACHERS

It was only natural that the American labor movement, in its thinking about education, should devote special attention to the needs of the teachers. The first union of teachers was formed in Chicago in 1897, and in 1902 this organization formally affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The Federation welcomed the new union into its ranks and declared that it believed the time was ripe for the organization of the teachers in all parts of the United States.

The American Federation of Teachers was officially chartered by the AFL in 1916 and Gompers sent the officers of the new union a telegram extending his congratulations and expressing his hope that "the American Federation of Teachers may be set on the road of practical, beneficial work in the interest of the teachers, of the pupils in the schools and of the people of our common country."

To the AFL unionization was the most dependable way to better working conditions and better salaries for teachers. But the Federation also saw unionization as a method of winning dignity, freedom and independence for the teachers. The 1916 AFL convention hailed the new American Federation of Teachers as "a movement which will eventually democratize our public schools."

Along with its efforts to unionize the teachers, the Federation always stoutly championed the rights and freedom of the teachers. "There is no way to aim more directly at the freedom of the wage-earners and the masses of the people than through suppression of the individuality, the thought and the activities of the teachers," according to a resolution adopted by the 1922 AFL convention. This same convention expressed concern over "tyrannical systems of school administration" and over school boards which are sometimes "out of harmony with progress and democracy." The delegates concluded that "as the school boards become more powerful, it is essential that control should be democratic and that those in authority should be responsible to the people."

"Men and women becoming teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens," delegates to the 1922 AFL convention declared. "Inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility, and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike."

The 1963 convention of the AFL-CIO applauded the growth of the American Federation of Teachers spurred by the recognition of the union as the collective bargaining agent for New York City teachers. "The personal and professional security of teachers necessitates the development of a strong teachers' union and the right of teachers to engage in collective bargaining," the convention declared. "Unmanageable classroom size, inadequate school housing, and increasing clerical duties for teachers are a few of the problems which can be better solved through collective bargaining. The entire school system benefits when teachers have the right to be heard."

The early AFT decided to affiliate with the AFL-CIO because the union movement supported the teachers' immediate goals and because workers have an obvious stake in the success of free public education. Both reasons for labor affiliation hold true today. The AFT can point to instance after instance where AFL-CIO affiliation made a difference in winning bargaining rights or in winning a needed piece of legislation. The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions also continue to play a major role in the fight to fund education adequately and maintain low tuition in public universities and colleges. Finally, the AFT's affiliation with the AFL-CIO means that AFT is in the mainstream of a unified effort to resist right-wing attacks on social legislature and to pursue tax equity, a fair and workable energy policy, welfare reform and other needed national programs. The AFT's, as well as the AFL-CIO's, commitment to broad social progress is rooted in the belief that good schools

cannot exist in the absence of a strong economy and healthy social climate.



## **FEDERAL SUPPORT**

Support for public schools necessarily implies support for the expenditure of public funds to maintain those schools. Organized labor has always believed that the federal government should play a part in financing education. The AFL convention of 1889 favored "the greatest liberality in the expenditure of public moneys by the United States and state governments to further and advance the cause of education of the masses."

The AFL supported federal aid to education in every convention since 1916. During the years of its separate existence, the CIO, like the AFL, declared that "organized labor is in the forefront of the fight to extend equal educational opportunity to every boy and girl in the United States regardless of race, creed or color. Workers know the importance of 'educating for democracy' and of building a public school system which will meet the needs of common people living in the twentieth century." Like the AFL, the CIO supported federal aid as the one workable way of equalizing education opportunity.

Since the AFL and the CIO shared this common belief in public education and in federal aid to the schools, it was natural that when the two organizations merged in 1955, the new organization which resulted should follow in the same tradition. The merger convention reaffirmed labor's support for the use of federal funds for school construction, improving teachers' salaries, health and welfare services for all children, loans and scholarships for all worthy students, and the eradication of adult illiteracy.

Labor's long years of effort finally began to reach fruition under the Kennedy and Johnson and Carter Administrations. The federal government made an important series of new commitments to the financing of education, and the

AFL-CIO played a major part in bringing about these new federal programs.

Among the education bills which were passed by Congress with active labor support have been the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Higher Education Act, the Vocational Education Act, the Career Education Incentive Act, the Bilingual Education Act, and the Education For All Handicapped Act.

Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island testified to this support by the AFL-CIO when he wrote President Lane Kirkland in April 1982:

"At this time when Federal education programs so vital to our Nation's future are seriously threatened by the cutback proposals of this Administration, I wanted to let you know how valuable has been the staunch support of the AFL-CIO to this vital cause.

"As Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities from 1969 through 1980, I can attest from first hand experience to the unswerving commitment the AFL-CIO made to education and the tireless efforts it has contributed whenever education needed help."

## **CURRENT CRISIS**

In education, as in other areas, the election of 1980 resulted in a major regressive shift in federal policy. We have an education policy of the Reagan Administration that emphasizes:

1. Reduction of aid to economically disadvantaged children and handicapped children.
2. Reduction of the availability of vocational training.
3. Severe cutting of Impact Aid for virtually all districts currently receiving assistance.
4. Consolidation of dozens of specific categorical education programs into block grants.
5. Slashing the School Nutrition programs

so that literally thousands of school lunch-rooms all over the country will close.

6. Using the money "saved" by these policies to finance a tuition tax credit for private schools.

The sum of these policies is clear—take support away from those who need it most and give it to those who need it least! This is a complete reversal of the long-standing federal policies of using federal aid to education to help the states and localities meet high priority needs such as the handicapped and disadvantaged and, instead, spending federal dollars to aid those who can already afford to send their children to private schools.

That this policy is the underlying assumption of the Administration's education program is beyond question. A major consequence of this shift is the fact that these cuts have resulted in additional taxes on the local and state levels. Cuts in the program for desegregation, the handicapped and non-English speaking are purely transfers from one level of government to another.

Eliminating federal aid to the handicapped will not lift the federal mandates that require all handicapped children to be provided with a free appropriate public education. The federal law and many court decisions will remain on the books. State and local governments will be required to raise their taxes in order to pay for these services.

What the Reagan Administration has proposed is not simply a cut in programs, but a reduction in the quality of education.

In its February 1983 statement on education, the AFL-CIO called on Congress "to reject proposed recisions in the categorical funding for bilingual education, Indian education and special programs to assist elementary and secondary schools."

These Administration proposals are presented as a necessary step to help our economy recover. If that result could be reasonably expected, the suffering that will result from these budget cuts might at least serve a purpose. However, it is a well-established fact

that education is a capital investment in the productivity of our workers. Estimates are that more than 40 percent of all productivity increases since World War II are directly related to education.

In 1983 the AFL-CIO Executive Council rejected the Reagan Administration's education budget proposals because they rested on "tax gimmicks, rhetorical fluff and pious platitudes instead of a substantive leadership program to enable the nation's public education system to educate and re-train America's current and future workforce."

The Executive Council stated that it continued "to reject education vouchers, tuition tax credits and education savings accounts which drain revenues needed for public education institutions. The voucher proposal for compensatory education services for the disadvantaged could destroy a successful and effective public school program."

"The AFL-CIO opposes cuts that eliminate or reduce student aid programs and so-called self-help grants which further diminish equitable education opportunities of higher education for most Americans, especially those in low-income groups."

In 1985 the AFL-CIO convention urged Congress "to maintain its support for the Chapter I program and to expand its funding appropriate to the numbers of eligible students. We reaffirm our commitment to this program at both the elementary and secondary levels of education and further call upon Congress to assure that the public school system is the recognized institutional system to deliver compensatory services."

Congress was once again asked "to reject any initiatives that offer vouchers, tax credits or other similar proposals for delivery of such services. Such schemes would limit student opportunity, weaken the role of public education as the foundation of our democratic system, and divert attention and resources from the real issues of teaching and education reforms and adequate financial commitments."



## EDUCATION REFORM

The National Commission on Excellence in Education's report, "A Nation At Risk: The Imperative For Education Reform," issued in 1983 states that,

"In a world of ever-accelerating competition and change in the conditions of the workplace, of ever-greater danger, and of ever-larger opportunities for those prepared to meet them, education reform should focus on the goal of creating a learning Society. At the heart of such a society is the commitment to a set of values and to a system of education that affords all members the opportunity to stretch their minds to full capacity, from early childhood through adulthood, learning more as the world itself changes. Such a society has as a basic foundation the idea that education is important not only because of what it contributes to one's career goals but also because of the value it adds to the general quality of one's life."

The AFL-CIO convention in 1985 noted that "American public education is continuing to experience the kind of attention this nation has not given it since the days of Sputnik in the late 50's and the era of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in the mid-60's. It is a time of both tremendous opportunity and potential danger. During this historic period, there are two possible agendas for education's consideration. One includes tuition tax credits for private schools, to the certain detriment of the public school system. The other represents the possibility of a great public education renewal and revival. The choices we make now may decide for years to come whether or not public education will have the human resources, both to survive and to provide for the nation-at-large." The AFL-CIO convention resolved,

"That the AFL-CIO joins with the American Federation of Teachers in a program to review, revitalize and reform public education through the following measures:

- "An insistence on beginning teacher tests

which will set a high standard for entry-level teacher recruits. Minimum competency is not enough. All beginning teachers should be tested and required to meet a standard which represents at least the average of all college graduates.

- "Higher teacher certification requirements that specifically include greater emphasis on subject matter competence and less emphasis on methods courses.

- "Insistence that colleges and universities, which educate elementary and secondary school teachers, provide a curriculum, education, and training which provide reasonable assurance that such teachers will have competence in the subject matter which they teach, are prepared for such beginning teacher tests, and are qualified for teacher certification.

- "Insistence that state and local school boards not only take affirmative action in the hiring of members of minority groups as teachers, but work for the removal of artificial barriers which prevent qualified minority candidates from entering the teaching profession.

- "Radical increases in beginning teacher pay. Unless teachers can start teaching with salaries equivalent to those of other college graduates, we will stand no chance of attracting good candidates. This will mean entry salaries at least \$6,000 to \$8,000 higher than the current ones.

- "Salary amounts and patterns that encourage good teachers to stay in the profession. Salary schedules of 10 to 12 very small steps, spread out over a decade or more in years, can hardly serve this purpose. Keeping good teachers is more likely with adequate salary schedules under which maximum pay can be achieved in 3 to 5 years at most.

- "The need to maintain teacher excitement and intellectual stimulation. Teachers want to teach courses that are challenging to students who are interested. At least part of the attention given to curriculum should focus on how all teachers can have schedules, courses, retraining and enrichment opportunities that act as incentives for them to continue in the profession.

- "Assurance that whatever measures schools take to improve discipline and minimize disruption will not turn teachers into police officers. Discipline codes and school organization patterns should not burden teachers with responsibilities that sap their energies and divert their attention away from their proper teaching role.

- "Expanded opportunities for teachers to help new teachers, to implement staff development plans to create patterns of collegiality that insure ongoing professional renewal.

- "Implementation of fair and practical methods for removing incompetent teachers from the profession. These must involve due process and be based on evaluation criteria which teachers regard as objective and reasonable."

Schools must be model democratic institutions. Teachers must have the right to join unions of their own choice and to engage in collective bargaining and they must be paid a salary which will afford a family standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by other professional people in the community.

The multiplication of knowledge and the increasing educational demands which modern society places upon the individual make it imperative that each individual have the opportunity to develop to the fullest of his potential. There must be available to every qualified young person, whatever his financial situation, an opportunity to continue his education through college and through graduate school.

All of these programs require money which is not now being invested in education. These funds must in the largest part come from the federal government which alone has the taxing power to meet the needs. State and local support for education still is derived mainly from the sales tax and the property tax, neither of which is well designed to reach the most lucrative sources of potential school revenue.

The AFL-CIO is committed to a program of full federal partnership in the financing of

education at all levels from pre-kindergarten programs through adult education. Labor supports a massive national effort to provide quality education for all children and young people, wherever they may live, whatever their race or national background, whatever their family income. Only through such efforts can we realize our goals and objectives of providing equal opportunity for Americans to acquire the necessary tools for a better life.

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND  
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS**

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